

Message Text

PAGE 01 NATO 06345 201555Z

43

ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 EURE-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00 INRE-00

CIAE-00 PM-04 INR-07 L-03 ACDA-05 NSAE-00 PA-01 SS-15

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C O N F I D E N T I A L USNATO 6345

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR NATO CSCE

SUBJECT: CSCE IMPLEMENTATION: CBMS PORTION OF REPORT TO THE
COUNCIL

REF: USNATO 6275

1. FOLLOWING IS REVISION, DATED NOVEMBER 19, OF IS DRAFT ON
CBMS TO BE INCLUDED IN BASKET I PORTION OF POLADS REPORT TO THE
COUNCIL ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION (FIRST DRAFT WAS TRANSMITTED
REFTEL). OUR COMMENTS ON THIS REVISION APPEAR IN PARA 3
ACTION REQUESTED: GUIDANCE IN TIME FOR NOVEMBER 24 OPEN-
ENDED WORKING GROUP MEETING.

2. BEGIN TEXT:

SO FAR THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES HAVE NOT TAKEN
ANY VISIBLE STEP TOWARDS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF CONFIDENCE
BUILDING MEASURES, ALTHOUGH IMMEDIATELY AFTER HELSINKI
THERE WERE SOME OCCASIONAL FAVOURABLE EASTERN PRESS COMMENT-
ARIES WITH REGARD TO THESE MEASURES. NONE OF THE WARSAW
PACT COUNTRIES HAS SO FAR SENT ANY NOTIFICATION OF MILITARY
MANOEUVRES, MAJOR OR SMALL SCALE, NOR DID THEY RESPOND TO
ALLIED INVITATIONS TO SEND OBSERVERS TO ALLIED MANOEUVRES.
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PAGE 02 NATO 06345 201555Z

MAJOR SOVIET MEDIA HAVE NOT ONLY DISMISSED ALLIED NOTIFICATIONS
AND OBSERVER INVITATIONS AS IRRELEVANT BUT HAVE IN MANY CASES
TAKEN THE LINE THAT ALLIED MILITARY MANOEUVRES HAD INCREASED
IN SIZE AND FREQUENCY AFTER HELSINKI AND THAT " THE PRESENT

NATO CAMPAIGN" OF MANOEUVRES WAS NOT COMPATIVLE WITH THE "SPIRIT OF HELSINKI". IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THIS YEAR INCREASED ALLIED PUBLICIITY WITH REGARD TO MANOEUVRES HAS PROMPTED THEM TO SHARPEN THEIR CRITICISM OF ALLIED MANOEUVRES WHICH AHD ALWAYS BEEN A PERSISTENT THEME OF SIVIET MEDIA CAMPAIGNS.

THE PRESENT ATTITUDE OF WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES WITH REGARD TO CBMS CANNOT BE FULLY ASSESSED UNLESS IT CAN BE ASSUMED WITH CERTAINTY THAT THEY HAVE CARRIED OUT MAJOR MILITARY MANOEUVRES THIS YEAR. ALTHOUGH PRECISE ESTIMATES ABOUT THE SIZE OF WARSAW PACT MANOEUVERS ARE DIFFICULT TO ARRIVE AT, THER APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN A TREND IN THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS TOWARD SMALLER MANOEUVRES. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE SOVIETS, WHILE CAPABLE OF HOLDING MAJOR MANOEUVRES VIRTUALLY AT ANY TIME OF THE YEAR INCLUDING WINTER, MAY HAVE CHOSEN TO AVOID CREATING A CLEAR CASE FOR NOTIFICATION AT LEAST THIS YEAR. IT MAY THEREFORE BE SOME TIME BEFORE THERE IS A SIVIET OR WARSAW PACT EXERCISE WHICH SOULD MEET THE 25,000 MEN CRITERION,AND THERBY PUT EASTERN COMPLAINE TO AN ACUTAL TEST. CHARGES IN THE WESTERN PRESS THA THE SOVIETS HAVE CONDUCTED EXERCISES IN VIOLATION OF THE HELSINKI ARRANGEMENTS ARE NOT SUPPORTED BY EVIDENCE. IT OUGHT TO BE NOTED, HOWEVER, THAT UNLIKE ALLIED COINTIRES, THEEAST HAS CHOSEN NOT TO NOTIFY SMALLER SCALE MANOEUVRES OF WHICH THERE HAVE BEEN SEVERAL; THE FINALACTO FOHEL SINKI ALSO PROVIDES FOR THEIR NOTIFICATION ALTHOUGH ON A VOLUNTARY BASIS.

WITH THEIR NON ACCEPTANCE OF INVITATIONS TO SEND OBSERVERS TO ALLIED MANOEUVRES, WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES TO SEND OBSERVERS TO ALLIED MANOEUVRES, WARSAW PACT COUNTIRES SEEM TO WANT TO AVOID CREATING AN OBLIGATION ON THEIR PART TO INVITE WESTERN OBSERVERS TO MANOEUVRES.

THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT SOME WARSAW PACT COUNTIRES, SUCH AS ROMANIAN MAY BE MORE FAVURABLY DISPOSED TOWARDS CBM IMPLEMENTATION THAN THE SOVIET UNION, BUT THAT, AT LEAST FOR THE TIME BEING, THEY HAVE CHOSEN TO ABIDE BY THE SOVIET
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PAGE 03 NATO 06345 201555Z

POSITION. REACTIONS TO ALLIED NOTIFICATIONS FROM NEUTRAL AND NON ALIGNED COUNTIRES HAVE GENERALLY BEEN FAVOURABLE. TO DATE TWO NEUTRAL AND NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES- YUGOSLAVIA AND SWITZERLAND- HAVE NOTIFIED RESPECTIVELY A SMALL AND A LARGE SCALE MANOEUEVER. THE LATTER ALSO EXTENDED INVITATIONS TO OBSERVERS TO ALL CSCE PARTICIPANTS PLUS CHINA, AND BOTH ACCEPTED THE INVITATION ISSUED BY THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY.

END TEXT.

3. COMMENT: DEPARTMENT WILL NOTE THAT FIRST PARA REMAINS VIR-
TUALLY THE SAME AS IN ORIGINAL TEXT WITH ONLY SLIGHT CHANGES.
SECOND PARA CONTAINS EDITORIAL CHANGES WHICH WE HAD SUGGESTED

INFORMALLY TO IS. FINAL PARAGRAPH, IN OUR VIEW, STILL NEEDS
IMPROVEMENT AND WE WOULD SUGGEST FOLLOWING REDRAFT:

BEGIN TEXT:

THERE ARE INDICATIONSTHAT ROMANIA MAY BE FAVOURABLY DISPOSED
TOWARDS CBM IMPLEMENTATION BUT, AT LEAST FOR THE TIME GEING,
BUCHAREST HAS CHOSENTO ABIDE BY THE SOVIET POSITION. RE-
ACTIONS TO ALLIED NOTIFICATIONS FROM NEUTRAL AND NON ALIGNED
COUNTRIES HAVE GENERALLY BEEN POSITIVE. YUGOSLAVIA AND
SWITZERLAND BOTH ACCEPTED INVITATIONS ISSUED BY THE
FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY TO OBSERVE EXERCISE "CERTAIN
TREK". IN ADDITION YUGOSLAVIA AND SWITZERLAND HAVE NOTIFIED
RESPECTIVELY A SMALL AND A LARGE SCALE MANEUVER. THE
LATTER INVITATIONS TO OBSERVERS TO ALL CSCE PARTICIPANTS
PLUS CHINA. END TEXT. BRUCE

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